

Message Text

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ACTION IO-11

INFO OCT-01 AF-06 ISO-00 IOE-00 ARA-06 AID-05 ACDA-05

OMB-01 EB-07 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

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P R 051240Z MAR 76

FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0909

INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 DAR ES SALAAM 0793

E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, TZ, RQ, UN

SUBJECT: REQUEST FOR PRESIDENTIAL LETTER TO NYERERE: MULTI-
LATERAL AFFAIRS: PUERTO RICO AND UN COMMITTEE OF 24

REF: (A) STATE 49329, (B) 75 DAR ES SALAAM 4550,
(C) 75 DAR ES SALAAM 4587, (D) DAR ES SALAAM 651
(E) DAR ES SALAAM 0719

1. SUMMARY: EMBASSY BELIEVES TIME IS RIPE FOR RENEWED
ATTEMPT TO CHANGE TANZANIAN POSITION ON PUERTO RICAN ISSUES.
WE RECOMEND PRESIDENTIAL LETTER TO NYERERE AS ONLY APPROACH
WITH SIGNIFICANT PROMISE OF GETTING DESIRED RESULTS. BEST TIMING
WOULD BE NOW, BEFORE SECRETARY KISSINGER VISIT TO AFRICA.
TRIP TO PUERTO RICO BY AMBASSADOR BOMANI COULD BE HELPFUL. DRAFT
TEXT OF PRESIDENTIAL LETTER IS SUBMITTED. END SUMMARY.

2. TANZANIA IS MOST LIKELY TO SUPPORT A PUERTO RICO RESOLUTION
WHEHTER IT ARISES IN COMMITTEE OF 24, NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT, OR
ELSEWHERE. THOUGH TANGOV HAS SUGGESTED IT MAY NOT ITSELF
INITIATE CONSIDERATION OF PUERTO RICAN ISSUE AT UN OR ELSEWHERE
(REF B), AND PRESIDENT NYERERE RECOGNIZES IT S IMPORTANCE TO US
(REF C), TANZANIA'S PUBLIC RECORD -- WITH WHICH UN AMBASSADOR
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SALIM SALIM IS CLOSELY AND PERSONALLY LINKED -- MAKES IT DIFFICULT

FOR TANZANIA TO SHIFT ITS POSITION.

3. NEVERTHELESS, THERE IS NOTHING TO BE LOST BY UNDERTAKING ANOTHER SERIOUS EFFORT TO MODIFY TANZANIA'S POSITION ON PUERTO RICO.

4. VISITS: BOMANI -- YES; SALIM -- NO

IN RESPONSE SPECIFIC QUESTION RAISED PARA 10, REF A, WE BELIEVE THAT VISIT TO PUERTO RICO BY TANZANIAN AMBASSADOR PAUL BOMANI COULD BE USEFUL EXERCISE. VISIT SHOULD BE OFFERED IN COMPANY OF OTHERS, SO AS NOT TO ISOLATE TANZANIA; THIS WOULD MAKE TANGOV APPROVAL MORE LIKELY. BOMANI HIMSELF IS UNLIKELY TO TAKE INITIATIVE IN SEEKING CHANGE TANGOV POLICY ON PUERTO RICO, BUT HIS REPORTING LIKELY BE FAIRLY OBJECTIVE, AND MIGHT PROVIDE SOME INPUT FOR CHANGE.

WE DO NOT RECOMMEND A VISIT BY UN AMBASSADOR SALIM. HE WOULD PROBABLY PUBLICLY CONCLUDE THAT INSPECTION CONFIRMED HIS PREVIOUSLY EXPRESSED VIEWS. MOREOVER, AS CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEE OF 24, VISIT BY HIM MIGHT APPEAR LEGITIMIZE UN INTEREST IN PUERTO RICO. OF COURSE, HE COULD DECIDE TO VISIT ON HIS OWN AT ANY TIME.

5. TANZANIA KNOWS THE FACTS.

TANZANIAN POSITION ON PUERTO RICO IS NOT, ESSENTIALLY, THE RESULT OF IGNORANCE OF THE FACTS, ALTHOUGH NYERERE'S ASSERTION (REF C) THAT HE DIDN'T KNOW VERY MUCH ABOUT IT MAY WELL BE TRUE. EMBASSY HAS BEEN PROVIDING FOREIGN OFFICE WITH FACTUAL INFORMATION ABOUT PUERTO RICO AT EVERY OPPORTUNITY, AND WE KNOW THAT FONOFF HAS MADE ITS OWN STUDY OF SITUATION. FONOFF OFFICIALS, INCLUDING DIRECTOR FONOFF EUROPE AND AMERICAS SECTION, HAVE VISITED PUERTO RICO AND RETURNED WITH GENERALLY FAVORABLE IMPRESSIONS. RATHER, TANZANIA STICKS TO ITS POSITION BECAUSE IT IS CONSONANT WITH NYERERE'S GENERAL WORLD VIEW.

6. DECISION DEPENDS ON NYERERE.

PRESIDENT NYERERE MAY WELL HAVE OPTED TO SUPPORT PUERTO
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RICAN INDEPENDENCE IN THE FIRST PLACE ON THE BASIS OF INSUFFICIENT FACTS AND BIASED RECOMMENDATIONS. JOHN MALECELA, LONG TIME TANZANIAN REPRESENTATIVE AT UN AND LATER (1972-75) FOREIGN MINISTER, HAS MADE PUERTO RICAN QUESTION A MATTER OF PERSONAL INTEREST FROM THE DAWN OF TANZANIAN (THEN TANGANYIKAN) PARTICIPATION IN UN UNDER BRITISH SPONSORSHIP. UN AMBASSADOR SALIM HAS WON FOR HIMSELF WORLD ATTENTION BY GOING EVEN FURTHER WHEN PUBLICLY PRESSING THIS POLICY. WITH PRESIDENT NYERERE'S

LONG STANDING POSITION ON PUERTO RICO WELL KNOWN IN TANGOV, IT IS UNLIKELY THAT ANY TANZANIAN OFFICIAL WILL TAKE THE INITIATIVE TO CHANGE NYERERE'S MIND.

7. COMMONWEALTH EQUALS COLONIALISM.

THAT PUERTO RICO "MUST" WANT INDEPENDENCE IS CONSONANT WITH TANZANIA'S, AND NYERERE'S, GENERAL WORLD VIEW. ALL "COLONIAL PEOPLES" MUST WANT INDEPENDENCE AS THEIR NATURAL BIRTHRIGHT, AND TO SUGGEST THAT PUERTO RICANS REALLY SEE IT DIFFERENTLY IMPLIES SPECIAL VIRTUES IN US WHICH TANZANIANS MOST RELUCTANT ACCEPT. THAT PUERTO RICANS HAVE VOTED FOR COMMONWEALTH STATUS IS NOT VERY CONVINCING TO MOST TANZANIANS, THOUGH IT MIGHT COUNT FOR SOMETHING WITH NYERERE. SOME TANZANIANS MIGHT EVEN ENDORSE THE VIEW OF MOZAMBIQUE PRESIDENT SAMORA MACHEL THAT ANY PLEBISCITE ON INDEPENDENCE IS AN INSULT TO THE PEOPLE INVOLVED, BECAUSE IT IMPLIES THAT THEY MIGHT WANT TO BE SLAVES.

8. THE CUBAN CONNECTION.

PUERTO RICAN ISSUE IS TODAY PRIMARILY THE PROPERTY OF CUBA, A COUNTRY WITH WHICH TANZANIA FEELS CLOSE TIES OF SOLIDARITY AS A FELLOW NON-WHITE, POOR, SOCIALIST STATE. IN MATTERS AFFECTING THE CARIBBEAN, TANZANIA IS LIKELY TO GO ALONG WITH ANY STRONGLY STATED CUBAN POSITION. CUBAN PRESTIGE IN TANZANIA IS ORDINARILY HIGHER THAN THAT OF US ON POLITICAL MATTERS AND MAY WELL NOW BE AT ZENITH DUE TO CUBAN MILITARY CONTRIBUTION TO DEFEAT OF SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES IN ANGOLA.

9. A PRESIDENTIAL LETTER.

TANZANIA WILL ONLY CHANGE ITS UN STAND ON PUERTO RICO ON
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INSTRUCTIONS FROM PRESIDENT NYERERE. WE BELIEVE THAT US EFFORTS MUST THEREFORE BE CONCENTRATED ON THE ATTEMPT TO GET NYERERE TO RECONSIDER HIS POSITION ON THIS ISSUE.

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ACTION IO-11

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FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 910

INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 DAR ES SALAAM 0793

AFTER CAREFUL COUNTRY TEAM CONSIDERATION OF THIS QUESTION, WE HAVE CONCLUDED THAT OUR MOST EFFECTIVE APPROACH WOULD BE A LETTER FROM PRESIDENT FORD TO PRESIDENT NYERERE. FOR REASONS DISCUSSED ABOVE, AND ON THE BASIS OF THE HISTORY OF UNSUCCESSFUL PAST ATTEMPTS, WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USELESS TO AGAIN TAKE THE AMERICAN CASE FOR A CHANGE IN TANZANIAN POLICY TO ANY LEVEL BELOW THE PRESIDENT. ONLY NYERERE CAN INITIATE SERIOUS RECONSIDERATION OF TANGOV POLICY, AND WE HAVE ALREADY ENSURED THAT OTHER TANGOV OFFICIALS HAVE NECESSARY FACTUAL AND INTERPRETIVE BACKGROUND SHOULD PRESIDENT SUGGEST EXAMINATION OF A CHANGE.

EVEN A DIRECT AMBASSADORIAL DEMARCHE ON A SPECIFIC ASPECT OF THE PUERTO RICAN QUESTION, SUCH AS ON A UN VOTE, WOULD LIKELY ELICIT LITTLE MORE THAN AN OFF-THE-CUFF REAFFIRMATION OF TANZANIAN POLICY (AS BEFORE -- REF C), AND AN AVOIDANCE OF FURTHER CONSIDERATION OF THE MATTER. A PRESIDENTIAL LETTER, HOWEVER, WOULD CARRY GREAT IMPACT, AND AS A WRITTEN DOCUMENT WOULD CALL FOR A RESEARCHED AND CONSIDERED REPLY. THE ADMITTEDLY SLIM CHANCE FOR A POLICY CHANGE WOULD BE ENHANCED BY THIS APPROACH.

10. THE TIME IS NOW.

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WE THINK A PRESIDENTIAL LETTER SHOULD BE SENT PROMPTLY BEFORE TANZANIA MAKES ANY NEW PUBLIC DECLARATIONS ON THE ISSUE AT NAC IN COLOMBO OR IN UN BODIES. SUCH A COMMUNICATION WOULD BE MORE EFFECTIVE AND LIKELY TO RESULT IN DISCUSSIONS OF EXISTING POLICIES IF NYERERE IS NOT UNDER PRESSURE FOR A QUICK DECISION BECAUSE THE ISSUE IS ABOUT TO COME UP IN SOME INTER-

NATIONAL FORUM. WE WOULD LIKE HIM TO FEEL UNDER THE GREATEST POSSIBLE PRESSURE TO RECONSIDER HIS PUERTO RICO POLICY, BUT WITHOUT AN EXPLICIT TIME FRAME. WE SHOULD GIVE HIM AMPLE TIME TO MULL OVER THE PUERTO RICAN QUESTION IN THE CONTEXT OF TANZANIA'S SELF IMAGE OF NON-ALIGNMENT AND ITS BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES AND, AS HE HAS ON ANGOLA, TRY OUT HIS IDEAS ON US HERE BEFORE FORMALLY REPLYING TO THE PRESIDENT.

MOREOVER, WE THINK THAT NYERERE WILL NEVER BE MORE RECEPTIVE TO RETHINKING HIS POSITION ON THIS MATTER THAN BEFORE SECRETARY KISSINGER VISITS AFRICA, AS DEPARTMENT AWARE, NYERERE IS VERY ANXIOUS TO HAVE SECRETARY INCLUDE TANZANIA ON HIS ITINERARY. HIS MOTIVATION TO BE FORTHCOMING ON AN ISSUE HE KNOWS TO BE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO US MAY NEVER BE GREATER THAN IT IS NOW.

11. CONTENT.

WE HAVE OUTLINED AT SOME LENGTH (REF D) OUR VIEWS OF THE KINDS OF ARGUMENTS MOST LIKELY TO INFLUENCE TANZANIA ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES. TO BE EFFECTIVE WITH NYERERE'S LANGUAGE MUST BE CAREFULLY CHOSEN SO AS TO AVOID GIVING HIM A WAY OUT OF THE ISSUE BY SIMPLY RESPONDING THAT HE MUST STAND UP TO "BIG POWER BULLYING."

12. DRAFT TEXT.

WITH THESE CONSIDERATIONS IN MIND, WE SUBMIT THE FOLLOWING DRAFT TEXT:

A. DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I WISH TO THANK YOU FOR YOUR VERY THOUGHTFUL LETTER OF JANUARY 22, 1976, AND SHARE WITH YOU MY CONCERN ON ANOTHER MATTER. THIS IS PUERTO RICO.

B. THE UNITED STATES HAS SUPPORTED THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR ALL PEOPLES SINCE WE ASSERTED THAT RIGHT FOR
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OURSELVES TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO. WE HAVE RESPECTED THAT PRINCIPLE WHEN FORMULATING OUR OWN INTERNATIONAL CONDUCT AND HAVE ENCOURAGED OTHERS TO FOLLOW A SIMILAR COURSE.

C. THE COMMONWEALTH OF PUERTO RICO HAS CHOSEN A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES. IN A SERIES OF FREE ELECTIONS, THE PEOPLE OF PUERTO RICO HAVE OVERWHELMINGLY ENDORSED THIS RELATIONSHIP, AND THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN 1953 TOOK NOTE OF THE FACT THAT THE PEOPLE OF PUERTO RICO HAVE EXERCISED THEIR RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION. HOWEVER, ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE, SOME COUNTRIES RECENTLY HAVE SOUGHT TO IMPUGN THOSE ACTIONS, PROPOSING RESOLUTIONS CALLING INTO QUESTION THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF THE UNITED STATES.

D. THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF PUERTO RICO TO THE UNITED STATES IS AN UNUSUAL ONE, THOUGH NOT UNIQUE, WHICH MAY PERHAPS BE UNDERSTOOD MORE EASILY IN THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA THAN ELSEWHERE. PUERTO RICO IS A SMALL ISLAND, WHICH HAS CHOSEN TO ASSOCIATE ITSELF WITH A LARGER NEIGHBOR IN SUCH A WAY AS TO PRESERVE ITS OWN CULTURAL IDENTITY, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME ENJOYING THE SPECIAL BENEFITS THAT ONLY SUCH AN ASSOCIATION CAN PROVIDE.

E. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE COMMONWEALTH OF PUERTO RICO AND THE UNITED STATES WAS CHOSEN BY AN OPEN PLEBISCITE OF THE PEOPLE OF PUERTO RICO. IT IS, AS IT SHOULD BE, AT ANY TIME FREELY SUBJECT TO REVIEW BY THE PEOPLE OF PUERTO RICO. SUCH A REVIEW WILL AGAIN TAKE PLACE IN THE GENERAL ELECTIONS TO BE HELD THIS YEAR. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES HAS PUBLICLY RECOGNIZED THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE OF PUERTO RICO TO CHANGE THIS RELATIONSHIP, AND IS PREPARED TO CONSIDER THE GRANT OF FULL INDEPENDENCE SHOULD THE PEOPLE OF PUERTO RICO CLEARLY MANIFEST THEIR DESIRE FOR IT. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PUERTO RICO AND THE UNITED STATES REMAINS ALWAYS SUBJECT TO THE DESIRE OF BOTH PARTIES TO MAINTAIN IT.

F. UNDER YOUR LEADERSHIP, TANZANIA IS PROPERLY ESTEEMED THROUGHOUT THE WORLD AS A NATION WHICH VALUES THE FREEDOM OF OTHER PEOPLES AS ITS OWN, AND WHOSE INTERNATIONAL POLICIES FLOW FROM THE PRINCIPLES IN WHICH IT BELIEVES. I BELIEVE THAT THE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES CHOSEN BY THE PEOPLE OF
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PUERTO RICO IS IN FULL ACCORD WITH YOUR AND MY DEVOTION TO GENUINE SELF-DETERMINATION. THIS IS WHY I AM TAKING THIS OPPORTUNITY TO TRY TO GIVE YOU MY VIEWS AS SIMPLY AND HONESTLY AS I KNOW THEM. I HOPE, OF COURSE, THAT YOU WILL CONSIDER THEM WHEN FORMULATING YOUR OWN COUNTRY'S POLICY SHOULD THIS ISSUE ARISE AGAIN IN INTERNATIONAL FORA.

G. I LOOK FORWARD TO LEARNING YOUR VIEWS ON THIS MATTER, SO IMPORTANT TO ME, AS WELL AS ON ANY OTHER SUBJECT WHICH YOU MAY FEEL WILL LEAD TO INCREASED UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN US. ETC., ETC., GERALD R. FORD, END DRAFT TEXT.
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